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*character* of the results which have been attained. And as to these results we may say that they may be grouped under three general heads, in that the law in this country has, in the progress of its hundred years of life, become (1) more simple, (2) more humane, and (3) more adaptive. That it has tended to become more simple would seem to be sufficiently plain from the instances which have been given under the head of codification; of its increased humanity, the criminal code and the laws relating to married women are fair proofs; while the facility with which it has met the changes produced by the physical and political peculiarities of the country, and the nature of its institutions, is evidence of its adaptiveness.

The pathway which American law has pursued is one upon which we can turn our eyes with feelings of no little pride; and if the progress of our national jurisprudence has not always been in precisely the right direction, it has not wandered far from the way, and has certainly been no laggard.

G. T. BISPHAM.

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#### ART. VI. — EDUCATION IN AMERICA, 1776-1876.

At the close of the first century of the national existence, the advantages, necessities, and dangers of public instruction in the United States are such that the President begins and ends what is called his "Centennial Message" to Congress, December 7, 1875, with an appeal to the people for the support of the established system of common schools, and an emphatic recommendation that an amendment to the United States Constitution should be passed for the protection and promotion of this object of public concern.

He advises that "a Constitutional amendment be submitted to the Legislatures of the several States for ratification, making it the duty of each of the several States to establish and forever maintain free public schools, adequate to the education of all the children in rudimentary branches, within their respective limits, irrespective of sex, color, birthplace, or religion; forbidding the teaching in said schools of religious, atheistic, or pagan tenets, and prohibiting the

granting of any school funds or school taxes, or any part thereof, either by legislative, municipal, or other authority, for the benefit or in aid, directly or indirectly, of any religious sect or denomination, or in aid or for the benefit of any other object of any nature or kind whatever."

Within a few days after the presentation of this message, Mr. Blaine, the Republican leader of the House, introduced a bill which coincides in its tenor with the President's recommendation. His proposed amendment is this:—

ART. XVI. — No State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; and no money raised by taxation in any State for the support of public schools, or derived from any public fund therefor, nor any public lands devoted thereto, shall ever be under the control of any religious sect, nor shall any money so raised or lands so devoted, be divided between religious sects or denominations.

General Grant's official utterance followed close upon a less formal expression of his opinions at Des Moines, Iowa, which attracted great attention in this country and in Europe. However accepted, these emphatic words from the chief magistrate of the Union are likely to call out, during the next few months, much educational discussion, and especially on fundamental questions in respect to the origin, growth, theory, methods, and results of public instruction in this country.

All investigators will find the task of reviewing the progress of American education during the last century peculiarly difficult. There is a great deficiency of historical and philosophical discussion bearing upon this subject; moreover, in consequence of the extreme decentralization which has governed the American policy in public instruction (as in other affairs of the State), the statistical and administrative reports, on which a thorough survey must be based, are scattered through many thousands of local reports, still uncollected and uncollated, and even, to a very considerable extent, not given to the press.

This great difficulty is balanced, however, by another consideration. Notwithstanding the diverse authorities under which instruction has been provided, the principles which

have guided the action of these public authorities are homogeneous. In details, in methods, in results, the system of education differs in every State, while in its outlines the system is the same from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

As an assistance to those, especially in other countries, who may seek to study the development of the American system of education, we enumerate some of the principal sources of information. Within the last few years a central agency, the United States Bureau of Education, has been established by Congress, in Washington, for the purpose of collecting, from every part of the country, information in respect to the condition of education, and of diffusing, as widely as possible, the information thus brought together.

This official bureau has been of great benefit to the country. Since its organization, in 1867, six annual reports have been published, besides a large number of special papers, or essays, officially called "Circulars." The first of the annual publications was issued by Dr. Henry Barnard, and the five succeeding reports were issued under the administration of the present indefatigable Commissioner, General J. Eaton, Jr., who entered upon his office in March, 1870.

Already the statistics which have been accumulated are sufficient for important comparisons; the schedules upon which the tables are prepared improve every year, and greater willingness to make exact returns is evinced by the local officers. At the same time, the Commissioner is so careful not to transcend his authority, and is so ready to communicate all the information collected in his office, that prejudices against any national expenditures for education are lessening, and those who oppose, as well as those who favor governmental action in such matters acknowledge the advantages of having at command trustworthy facts.

Private enterprise has to a remarkable degree remedied some of the deficiencies of governmental neglect. Dr. Henry Barnard of Hartford, to whom allusion has just been made, began in 1856 the publication of an "American Journal of Education," which, with various changes of form, has been continued to the present time. It now comprises twenty-four octavo volumes, including in all some twenty thousand pages, illustrated by one

hundred and twenty-five portraits, and eight hundred cuts representing school buildings. Dr. Hodgson, a distinguished professor in the University of Edinburgh, has recently remarked that this publication "really contains, though not in continuous form, a history, and it may be said an encyclopædia, of education." It is the best and only general authority in respect to the progress of American education during the past century. It includes statistical data, personal reminiscences, historical sketches, educational biographies, descriptions of institutions, plans of buildings, reports, speeches, and legislative documents. For the first sixteen volumes an index is published, and for the next eight volumes an index is in preparation. The comprehensiveness of this work and its persistent publication under many adverse circumstances, at great expense, by private and almost unsupported exertions, entitle the editor to the grateful recognition of all investigators of our system of instruction. He has won a European reputation by this Journal, and in our own country will always be an indispensable guide and companion to the historian of education.

Many other periodicals have been published in this country, devoted to educational intelligence and discussion. A list of those which appeared after 1811 and prior to 1865 is given in Barnard's Journal of that year.

Since 1840 an attempt has been made to collect educational statistics in the decennial census of the United States, but the results have not been satisfactory in consequence of the different schedules which are employed for the registration of statistics in different States, the extreme diffusion of responsibility, and the confusion of educational nomenclature.

In the census of 1870 great pains were taken to discover the extent to which illiteracy is prevalent, and two maps were printed face to face with one another exhibiting the relations of wealth to education. In the Statistical Atlas prepared by the superintendent of the census, General F. A. Walker, the only educational charts are two; they exhibit the illiteracy of the entire population and the illiteracy of adult white males.

For the Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia the Educational Bureau at Washington is making great preparations. It has enlisted the co-operation of school officers and associa-

tions in various parts of the land, and also of the administrators of colleges, libraries, art-schools, charities, etc., and other institutions, and by their aid will bring together, not merely an abundance of material things illustrative of educational methods and apparatus, but also manuscript and printed documents illustrative of the historical development of our American institutions. All this is projected on a very comprehensive scheme. If rightly discussed by those who prepare the official reports on the Exhibition, such collections will throw much light upon the merits and the deficiencies of all our agencies for the promotion of knowledge.

When the discussions for the support of the Educational Bureau were in progress, Mr. G. F. Hoar, upon the floor of Congress, declared that the only respectable account of education in this country ever published had been prepared by foreign governments. Among such reports, the most satisfactory is that of Rev. James Fraser, now the Bishop of Manchester, England, who came to this country in 1865, and employed six months in the prosecution of his inquiry, and four months in drawing up his report. This elaborate paper, like that of Mr. Matthew Arnold on the schools of France, Germany, etc., was presented to the Crown by the Scottish Commissioners of Public Instruction. It is a candid review of facts collected with great diligence and fairness,—all the better, because of the discriminating criticism with which it distinguishes the wise from the unwise, and because it appreciates right purposes and tendencies in this country even when results are not yet satisfactory.

Besides the Report of the Bishop of Manchester, the excellent study of Lavaleye, which appeared in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, and was reprinted in a volume entitled *L'Instruction du Peuple*; the reports of a French Commissioner, *L'Instruction Publique aux États Unis*, par M. Hippeau; and the observations of Mr. Siljeström, a Swedish traveller, whose work was translated into English by F. Rowan; of Dr. Wimmer, a Saxon teacher; and of Mr. Hirkel, a recent Russian observer, are all noteworthy. In consequence of the recent educational discussions in England, much has been said in that country upon American schools,—among recent works, the more im-

portant being a volume on National Education by Rev. J. H. Rigg, and one on the American School System by F. Adams.

Having thus endeavored to point out the principal sources of information on which the historical inquirer must depend, we shall now take a rapid glance at the progress of education among us during the past century, in the three stages which are commonly known as “primary,” “secondary,” and “superior” instruction.

Unquestionably the most distinctive characteristic of American education is the prevalence of popular primary schools throughout the vast territory of the United States. The system upon which they are organized is a growth and not a creation. It was not imported from any European country. Its germ was planted by the earliest colonists, — but the tree which has sprung from the germ would amaze the original planters. Its development is not due to the arguments of any philosopher or the wisdom of any legislator. It has been gradually influenced by the ecclesiastical, political, and social requirements of the country. Theoretically it has many defects; practically it is adapted to the circumstances of the land. No European country is likely to adopt it; the Americans will not abandon it. It is the pride of the people; the satisfaction of the poor man, and the protection of the rich man. Its influence in the promotion of intelligence and prosperity in the Northern and Eastern States has been rated so high that every new State adopts it without question. We shall not endeavor in this article to trace to their sources in the Old World, the underlying notions of the colonists who instituted the system. It would be interesting to discover, if that were possible, how much may be attributed to a natural evolution from the social usages and laws of England, and how much from those of Holland. “It is a question of interest to Americans,” says Dr. Francis Lieber, “how far the settlers of New England were influenced by their sojourn in the republican Netherlands. I throw out the question. It deserves a thorough, yet very plain and unbiassed inquiry.” Doubtless the school history will illustrate this influence; but such an inquiry would take us quite too far away from the present century.

We shall not even attempt to distribute among the original colonies which constituted the Union of 1776 the honors which they may justly claim for an early devotion to the interests of education; but among all the official records there is none more worthy to be held in perpetual remembrance in the Republic than an order which was adopted in Massachusetts November 11, 1647. Its language will never be forgotten; its spirit is still vital in every part of the country. Its words are these:—

“It is therefore ordered, that every township in this jurisdiction, after the Lord has increased them to the number of fifty householders, shall then forthwith appoint one within their town to teach all such children as shall resort to him to read and write, whose wages shall be paid either by the parents or masters of such children, or by the inhabitants in general, by way of supply, as the major part of those that order the prudentials of the town shall appoint; provided those that send their children be not oppressed by paying much more than they can have them taught for in other towns. And it is further ordered, that when any town shall increase to the number of one hundred families or householders, they shall set up a grammar school, the master thereof being able to instruct youth so far as they may be fitted for the university; provided, that if any town neglect the performance hereof above one year, that every such town shall pay five pounds to the next school till they shall perform this order.”

Here is a plan involving local responsibility; state oversight; moderate charges or gratuitous instruction; provision for all and not for the poor alone; and a recognition of three harmonious grades,—the primary school, the grammar school, and the university.

Our theme restricts us to the development of education since 1776. There are many indications that, in the period of reconstruction which followed the Declaration of Independence, the necessity of education was distinctly recognized both in the councils of the State and nation. Dr. Barnard, in one of his papers, has brought together some of the more remarkable utterances on the relations of the national government to education which were made by Washington.

It is interesting to observe that in the mind of Washington there was a very distinct idea of the value of a national agency for the collection and diffusion of information. His words re-



fer to an agricultural bureau, but they are an exact description of the responsibilities of the educational bureau, created in 1867. He advises that a central agency be formed, "charged with collecting and diffusing information, and enabled by premiums and small pecuniary aids to encourage and assist a spirit of discovery and improvement. This species of establishment contributes doubly to the increase of improvement, by stimulating to enterprise and experiment, and by drawing to a common centre the results everywhere of individual skill and observation, and spreading them thence over the whole nation."

But the national government did not receive from the States the responsibility of providing a system of public schools. Each State in its own way engaged in the work.

When the new Constitution of Massachusetts was adopted in 1780, public education received full recognition. An article, the spirit of which was fully in accordance with the legislation of 1647, was adopted and still remains the fundamental law of the State. This oft-quoted enactment was drafted by John Adams, afterward President of the United States, who has left an entertaining statement of the circumstances which led to its preparation. Its first section confirms the rights of Harvard College; the second "encourages literature" in these words:—

"Wisdom and knowledge, as well as virtue, diffused generally among the body of people, being necessary for the preservation of their rights and liberties, and as these depend on spreading the opportunities and advantages of education in the various parts of the country, and among the different orders of the people, it shall be the duty of the legislatures and magistrates, in all future periods of this commonwealth, to cherish the interests of literature and the sciences, and all seminaries of them, especially the University at Cambridge, public schools and grammar schools in the towns; to encourage private societies and public institutions by rewards and immunities for the promotion of agriculture, arts, sciences, commerce, trades, manufactures, and a natural history of the country; to countenance and inculcate the principles of humanity and general benevolence, public and private charity, industry and frugality, honesty and punctuality in their dealings, sincerity, good humor, and all social affections and generous sentiments among the people."

Mr. Adams informs us of his apprehension that "criticism and objection would be made to the section, and particularly that the 'natural history' and the 'good humor' would be stricken out, but the whole was received very kindly, and passed the convention unanimously without amendment."

Connecticut dates its system of schools from the time of the earliest settlements in Hartford and New Haven. "In the body of laws," says Barnard, "known as the code of 1650, 'the provisions for the family instruction of children, and the maintenance of schools by towns, are identically the same as in Massachusetts, and remained on the statute-book with slight modifications to give them efficiency for two hundred years.'" The charter of Connecticut, granted in 1662, remained in force till 1818, when a constitution was adopted which protects both the charter of Yale College and "the school fund," established in 1795.

The Constitution of New Hampshire, as amended in 1784, transcribes very nearly the exact words of that section of the constitution of Massachusetts which we have already quoted, on the encouragement of literature; but it is amusing to notice that the word "good-humor," which Mr. Adams introduced, was struck out in New Hampshire, and the word "sobriety" introduced in its stead.

Vermont in 1793 declared that a competent number of schools ought to be maintained in each town, and one or more grammar schools in each county of the State.

Rhode Island remained under the colonial charter till 1840, and Maine was not admitted to the Union till 1820.

The Constitution of New York, adopted in 1777, made no allusions to schools. In 1785, the Legislature created a Board of Regents of the University of the State, designed to promote and control academies and colleges, and in 1795 an act was passed for the maintenance and encouragement of common schools. In 1805, the school fund was established, and in 1812 the school law was adopted on which all subsequent legislation and progress have been based.

The growth of the school system in New Jersey was slow. The Constitution of 1776 did not refer to the subject. In 1816 an act was passed creating a school fund, which was protected

by the Constitution of 1844. It was not until 1871 that a general act providing an excellent system of state, county, and town supervision was adopted.

The second Constitution of Pennsylvania, adopted in 1790, requires the Legislature to provide for the establishment of schools throughout the State, in such manner that *the poor* may be taught gratis; and that the arts and sciences should be promoted in one or more seminaries of learning. This provision was repeated in the Constitution of 1838.

In the first Constitution of Delaware, adopted in 1776, but as amended in 1831, the Legislature is instructed "to provide by law for establishing schools, and promoting arts and sciences."

In 1779, Thomas Jefferson drafted a bill providing a public school system for Virginia, but it was not adopted till 1796, and then with a proviso which "completely defeated it." The first Constitution was adopted in 1776, the second in 1820, the third in 1851. In the latter it is provided that one equal moiety of the capitation tax upon white persons shall be applied to the purposes of education in primary and free schools.

In Maryland, there was no constitutional provision on education till 1864.

In North Carolina, in 1776, it was declared "A school or schools shall be established by the Legislature, for the convenient instruction of youth, with such salaries to the masters, paid by the public, as may enable them to instruct at low prices; and all useful learning shall be duly encouraged and promoted in one or more universities."

In South Carolina the first provisions of education were in the amended constitution of 1839.

The western migration from New England to the Mississippi Valley and to the Pacific coast carried with it the New England school system. As each new State in the northwest was organized, a constitutional provision was made for schools, and in every State except Ohio, a university or high "seminary of learning" was included in the plan. The chronology is alone instructive: Ohio in 1802, Indiana in 1816, Illinois in 1818, Michigan in 1835, Iowa in 1846, Wisconsin in 1848, California in 1849, Minnesota in 1858, Nevada in 1864, successively introduced the common-school system.

Since the civil war was concluded, school systems in the Southern States have been reorganized and in most of them the essential principles of the "New England system" have been adopted.

There are numerous pictures extant of the New England schools as they appeared about the beginning of the century. Dr. Dwight, President of Yale College from 1795 to 1816, gives the following sketch of his own observations:—

"A stranger travelling through New England marks with not a little surprise the multitude of school-houses, appearing everywhere at little distances. Familiarized as I am to the sight, they have excited no small interest in my mind; particularly as I was travelling through the settlements recently begun. Here, while the inhabitants were still living in log huts, they had not only erected school-houses for their children, but had built them in a neat style; so as to throw an additional appearance of deformity over their own clumsy habitations. This attachment to education in New England is universal; and the situation of that hamlet must be bad indeed, which, if it contain a sufficient number of children for a school, does not provide the necessary accommodations. In 1803, I found neat school-houses in Colebrook and Stewart, bordering on the Canadian line.

"The general spirit and scheme by which the education given in parochial schools (for such I call them) is regulated throughout the New England States are substantially the same."

He has also left on record many interesting observations upon the schools of Connecticut as they were familiar to him about the year 1801. Children living at a distance from the school-house, he tells us, were not sent to school till they were four years old; those near by were frequently sent at two! The girls, he says, generally leave school at twelve or fourteen. There is scarcely a child in the State who is not taught reading, writing, or arithmetic. Poverty has no effect in excluding any one from education.

We have also the following picture of schools in Massachusetts, sketched by a recent historian.

"The laws for promoting public instruction were attended with more favorable results; and recommendations were made by the governor for the appropriation of lands in the district of Maine for the support of the schools and the gospel ministry in that part of the State, and for a grant to Harvard College, whose funds were inadequate for the sup-

port of its instructors. The establishment of academies, also, dates from this period ; and a number of these seminaries were incorporated by the Legislature. By the laws of 1789, all towns in the State having two hundred families were required to support a grammar school, agreeably to former usage, and, in addition, were ordered to employ for instructors of youth, those who were educated at some college, and were able to teach the Greek and Latin languages. In towns where the inhabitants were less, it was required that such as were qualified to teach the English language correctly should be engaged in the business of education. By a 'traditionary blindness' as has been 'charitably assumed, our early fathers did not see that females required and deserved instruction equally with males,' hence the 'first provisions for primary schools were confined chiefly to boys.' But light soon broke in, and girls were 'allowed to attend the public schools two hours per day.' With this point gained, the revolution in public opinion was rapid and encouraging ; and, before the close of the eighteenth century, in nearly every town provision was made for the education of girls, especially in the summer." \*

We come now to consider more in detail the main characteristics of this system of schools which has become a continental institution. In the first place it was based upon the principle of local responsibility. Each town was expected and required to maintain such schools in number and in character as its own inhabitants needed. The determination of school taxes or rates, the construction of school-houses, the selection of teachers, the choice of school-books, the limitation of school sessions, were local questions. The great advantage of this plan was its encouragement of personal responsibility among parents to look after the training of their children. It secured the popular devotion to the school system as it never could have been secured if the schools had been maintained by any central authority.

But as years rolled on the smaller and poorer towns failed to do justice to themselves ; and in the larger and richer towns private schools attracted the children of wealthy families, so that the common schools were attended chiefly by the needy and were in consequence neglected. Thus it came to pass that the supervision of the State government was invoked ; and

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\* Barry, *Hist. of Mass.*, II. 322.

partly by money appropriation from a school fund, and partly by stringent laws, and partly by the moral influence and encouragement of State Boards of Education and superintendents of schools, the intelligence of an entire State was brought to bear on the school system in every hamlet and village. No school district was so obscure as to escape the oversight of the central authority. The aid of comparative statistics was invoked, and the light of publicity was thrown upon every nook and corner. In order to remedy definite faults, specific legislation was secured, or specific privileges were granted, and thus the statute-books became full of cumbersome and unintelligible enactments which gave rise to many disputes and still more embarrassing interpretations of the law. It was a slow process in Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, and others of the older States to arrange an orderly body of laws, pertaining to public schools throughout the State, adapted both to large and prosperous towns and also to small and thinly settled districts in the country. From these difficulties the older States have not yet completely emerged, but in every State of the Union either the constitution or the law now recognizes the need of some form of general supervision.

As the new States of the West and the Northwest were organized, the national government required that a considerable amount of the public lands, within each territorial limit, should be reserved for public education, and thus the common-school system, usually culminating in a high "seminary of learning" (which came to mean "a State university"), was secured to the interior and Pacific States. But the national government did not dictate nor regulate the details of the system in any part of the land; and the State governments, as they were organized, were careful to preserve the local responsibility of subordinate districts,—though they profited by the experience of the older States and reserved to the central authority an adequate power of superintendence. It is only within the last decade that the United States government has undertaken even to collect the facts which exhibit the results of its generous land-grants. This it now does with admirable results, but it carefully avoids every measure which seems to imply national superintendence.

Again, the system is extremely elastic. There is no fixed limit of age or acquisition at which public instruction ends. Usage varies in different places. In many of the older States secondary education is, to a considerable extent, in the hands of private teachers, and endowed or corporate academies. In the West, not merely "secondary," but also "superior" institutions, including even the professional schools, are a part of the system of the State. On the other hand, there is many a town in New England where the effort to establish a public high school meets with earnest opposition from those who honestly think that the public should not attempt to provide anything more than the simplest elements of an education. The advocates of high schools claim that their influence is powerful on schools of lower grade; that there is no possibility of drawing an exact and invariable line at which instruction must cease; and that the earliest New England usages, never theoretically abandoned, included grammar schools as intermediate between the primary school and the college. The opponents, with much emphasis, declare that the State does not teach well the higher branches, which should therefore be left to voluntary agencies.

The principle appears to be, that the extent to which public education may be provided in any community must depend on the wealth, the wants, and the wishes of that community. The decision will be governed by the intelligence and enterprise of the inhabitants, and by the presence or absence of endowed academies or satisfactory private schools. During the last twenty-five years there has been a remarkable increase of high schools, and some of them, like those of New York, Baltimore, Philadelphia, etc., are as worthy of the name of college as most institutions which bear the name.

Again, instruction in the public primary schools is now free in nearly, if not quite, every State. Many friends of popular education believe that it would have been better to retain the custom of a slight charge for tuition; but the school superintendents have been nearly unanimous in advocating the removal of all pecuniary restrictions, and the magic of the name "free schools" has been quite irresistible.

Another distinctive feature of the American school system

is the absence of all class distinctions, ecclesiastical control, and social limitations.

The schools are avowedly open to all. In many places they are attended by pupils who come from the humblest and from the most refined and wealthy families. In the South, different school buildings are provided for blacks and whites; but in the North, where the number of blacks is small, this distinction is not made. In many places the girls are taught in separate buildings from the boys. But, notwithstanding these limitations, it may be said that the public school, in theory, recognizes no class distinctions.

Sectarian instruction is not permitted in the schools. Early in the century, before the Catholics were numerous, there was no dissent to the reading of the Bible, and to other religious instruction which was free from a denominational or proselyting character. But the growth of the Catholic population has been accompanied by strong protests against the prevalence of Protestant instruction, and unquestionably the tendency is now to omit from the schools all religious instruction, excluding even the reading of the Bible and the singing of devotional hymns.

To many religious people this is a source of deep regret, and leads them to question seriously the value of such schools. To many others it is a source of congratulation, for they believe that the proper agency to convey religious instruction is not the public school, but the religious society.

The chief danger which threatens the common-school system is unquestionably this difference of opinion in respect to religious instruction, and the solution of the problem must be awaited with anxiety by all good citizens.

We must frankly admit that when the colonists of Massachusetts and Connecticut were of one faith in religious affairs, they did not hesitate to teach that faith in the schools and colleges which the State maintained or encouraged. Their early utterances indicate clearly the religious motives which governed the foundations of these new commonwealths. So long as the inhabitants of any town or State were exclusively Protestants, there could be little or no objection to the perusal of the authorized version of the Bible, the singing of hymns,



the offering up of the Lord's Prayer, or some other simple invocation at the teacher's discretion. The slight objections which were sometimes felt to this course of procedure did not take the form of organized opposition or employ the methods of political agitation. In those communities and school districts where the Protestant element is still almost exclusively prevalent, little, if any, opposition is yet made to these simple Christian influences. They are quite free from ecclesiastical authority, and are usually free from bigotry, and from proselyting tendencies. As the common-school system was extended over the land, the brief and simple religious exercises to which we have referred continued to be the practice. But when the Catholic immigration began to add its myriads to our shores, and to manifest its influence in political affairs, the common school was attacked as a Protestant agency, hostile in spirit to the Catholic Church. When the Protestants replied that nothing was taught in the schools but those fundamental notions of religion on which the Christian world, Catholic and Protestant, agreed,—the Catholic leaders centred their attack upon the use of King James's version of the Bible, which they claimed could not be permitted to the Catholic pupils. It was in their view a Protestant, a sectarian, an imperfect translation of the Scriptures,—proselyting in its influence, and dangerous in its tendencies. In this view the Catholics were doubtless consistent and sincere. All attempts to reconcile their differences with the Protestants have been local and temporary. In some places the Catholic scholars have been so few that the question has not been agitated; in some, the Rheimish version and King James's version have been permitted in the same school-room; in some places the Catholic scholars have not been required to attend until after the opening "devotional exercises" were concluded. In some places, especially in large cities, the Catholic scholars, by a "natural selection" have assembled in certain schools, where Catholic teachers have been employed, and the Protestant scholars have been gathered in other schools and taught by Protestant teachers. But neither Protestants nor Catholics have regarded these arrangements as anything more than temporary expedients. When some of the more liberal Protestants have proposed to omit all religious instruc-

tion, including even the reading of the Bible, they have been attacked as the advocates of “godless” schools; and have not only incurred the sarcasm of the Catholic leaders, but have lost the support of many devout Protestants, who have claimed that to omit the Bible-reading would be to undermine all religious authority, and open the way to avowed infidelity and atheism. In vain is it said that the perusal of the Scriptures in the public schools has become a form, with little vitality, — that it is only a symbol of religious faith, — that it is a most incomplete and inefficient mode of providing religious instruction which can only be properly given by the family and the church; in vain is it said that the only solution of the difficult problem, the only basis on which the common school can be maintained, is the restriction of public instruction to secular topics. The rigid Catholic declaims against such “godless” schools; and the rigid Protestant declares that he “won’t give up the Bible, God’s precious book of truth.” In New York, Chicago, Cincinnati, San Francisco, and other large cities, this controversy has been in progress for many years, at times allayed by temporary expedients or by the silence of policy; at times aroused to fierceness by a “Native-American” political party or a “Know-Nothing” movement.

Recently, and especially in Ohio, this controversy has gone beyond the limit of the city and town, and has become an open and controlling element in a State election. It bids fair to become a national question. No one who studies the Vatican syllabus, the utterances of Catholic writers, and the movements of European politics, can doubt that this question is likely at an early day to agitate our whole country.

The first century of the Republic closes with this “impending conflict” in respect to popular education. As we review the situation we find six possible resultants of the controversy.

1. The present undefined usages may be continued, — unsatisfactory to every religious body, and leading to frequent and bitter controversies. This is no plan.

2. Religious instruction and worship may be omitted in public schools, and provided, more efficiently than now, in Sunday schools, churches, and families, — upon a purely voluntary system. The separation of Church and State, an American

discovery in political science, works well and receives the approval of Catholics and Protestants, though great apprehensions were felt by religious people when the European usages were in this particular thrown off. The theory is not fully carried out until church influences are excluded from the control of public schools. This solution of the problem may be called the American plan.

3. Religious instruction may be given in public schools by special teachers of religion appointed for the purpose by religious associations of different denominations; but this teaching is to be restricted to appointed hours, and parents must be free to determine to whose instruction their children may be sent,—or whether they shall be excused altogether from attendance. This may be called the German plan.

4. The leaders of ecclesiastical organizations may unite in adopting a scheme of religious instruction which shall omit the essential differences of faith, and present the principles of a pure and upright life. From its employment in Ireland, where the Protestant and Catholic parties have been peculiarly hostile to one another, this arrangement has been named the Irish plan.

5. The public-school funds may be distributed upon some just basis between the Catholics and the Protestants, and between the different bodies of the Protestants, so that each religious organization may have its own day-school, and conduct religious instruction in its own way. This may be called the Catholic plan.

6. The State may absolutely abandon all charge of public education, as it does of religious worship. This may be called a Barbarian plan,—for it would surely tend among us to the “Barbarism of Ignorance.”

Of these six possible courses for the American people to pursue but one seems probable. It is that which we have termed “the American plan.” No one can follow the history of our institutions without seeing that from the settlements at Jamestown and Plymouth until now there has been a constant tendency toward its adoption. Church and State were originally united here as in Europe; gradually the spheres of political and ecclesiastical action have been defined; they still

conflict upon the question of religion in common schools; and it seems to us clear that the civil authority will not, either from justice or policy, much longer insist upon religious instruction when it is obvious that such instruction is obnoxious to large numbers of voters.

The alternative likely to be presented is what we have termed the Catholic plan. It is thus described in the "*American Educational Monthly*," and in the "*Catholic World*" for February, 1869:—

"The Catholics of this country, on account of their religious principles, cannot avail themselves of the public school system as now organized, although they contribute largely to its support by their taxation. They do not interfere with that system. . . . They simply ask that they may be allowed to participate in the only way open to them, — that is, by the apportionment to them of a ratable part of the funds, in aid of their existing schools, and of such others as their numbers in any given locality may appropriately enable them to establish, subject to the limited supervision of the State, as we have before claimed." (Page 696.)

The chief defect which has been charged upon the American school system is, if true, a very serious fault. It is asserted that it does not train the intellectual and moral character sufficiently; that it conveys knowledge rather than power, facts rather than principles; that it is superficial and inadequate. It is claimed that this is the result of employing text-books to an exorbitant extent, substituting them for the oral instruction of accomplished teachers. It is further claimed that time which ought to be given to study is wasted in general exercises and formal ceremonies, such as marching and singing.

In a thoughtful paper on the theory of American education, Dr. W. T. Harris, of St. Louis, makes an original and philosophical, if not wholly satisfactory, defence of the prevalence of text-book education in this country, as distinguished from oral teaching. He claims that among us there is a more explicit recognition than elsewhere of the principle that education is important, not so much for what it does for the pupil as for what it enables him to do. The American theory, he says, is this: The sooner we can make the youth pursue

his course of culture for himself, the sooner may we graduate him from the schools; and herein is the cause why university education is not so prominent in this country as in Europe. The printed page, he continues, is the medium, and the capacity to read and understand it is the initiation required to enter into this realm of spirit. We give the pupil the benefit of a perpetual self-education. With these outlines, he can inflate indefinitely his latent powers. Hence the library becomes what the university was of old. The pride of America is her self-educated men. The evils of the text-book system, great as they are, are not to be compared with those of the oral method. Self-determination is aimed at in our schools, not only in the theoretical spheres, but in the sphere of the will.

In another connection, when addressing an association of German teachers at Hoboken, Dr. Harris defended the American system of education against the criticisms of that body of educators: They charge upon our schools, said he, an inadequacy, evinced by official depravity and the corruption of public morals, and attribute this inadequacy to our American methods of teaching, and, in particular, to the exclusive cultivation of the memory. Dr. Harris, on the other hand, believes that the inadequacy is consequent upon the peculiar social condition of the United States, the new synthesis of nationalities forming here, the great possibilities of wealth, and the attempt to solve the problem of self-government by means of universal suffrage.

In another paper, he defends the morality of our public-school system in these terms: The pillars on which public-school education rests are, behavior or deportment, and scholarship. Good order is the first requisite, and this involves punctuality and regularity; silence, as a basis for the culture of reflection; truth and justice; and, finally, kindness, or the love of mankind.

The greatest difficulty which the American school system has encountered is to overcome the ignorance of the freedmen of the South. Before they were given the right of suffrage this objection to its bestowal was foreseen, and earnest attempts were made to establish an educational restriction, at least to insist on the ability to read, which is a requirement of all

electors in Massachusetts and Connecticut. Such efforts in Congress were unsuccessful, and in only one Southern State, Missouri, has such a provision been introduced into the Constitution. In various ways the subject of common-school education at the South has been brought before Congress, and various plans for its promotion have been presented and advocated by Mr. George F. Hoar, Mr. Munroe, and others (most of them based on an appropriation of public lands), but the difficulty of adopting any scheme which will suit the peculiar condition of Southern society, and yet interfere with none of the usages and rights of the North, has prevented national action. The munificent gifts of Mr. Peabody, for the encouragement of schools, wisely administered by Dr. Barnas Sears, and other private efforts, have alleviated, in some places, the local disabilities, but private labors are quite inadequate to remove the illiteracy. The promotion of popular education rests, therefore, with the voters of each State, and among them the extremely ignorant are so numerous that grave apprehensions must be felt in respect to the results.

In concluding this review of public primary education, let us sum up the chief points to which we have called attention. From its New England birthplace, the common school has gone to every State and Territory. In its main features, the system is homogeneous throughout the continent. It is based on local responsibility and State supervision, supplemented by the co-operative agency of a national statistical bureau of education. The system is elastic, being sometimes restricted to primary schools, and sometimes expanded to include the schools of every grade, not excluding the university. Instruction is free, unsectarian, non-partisan, and open to all, without distinction of race, birthplace, or social standing. The chief danger of the system, in our opinion, is the religious objection to it; its chief defect, a want of thoroughness; its chief difficulty, the peculiar condition of affairs in the South.

The statistics illustrating the condition of the system are too voluminous to be quoted here, and, fortunately, they are put within the reach of everybody by the United States Commissioner's Reports; but the following brief summary may be convenient for reference.

It appears that the school population of the entire country, including Territories as well as States, is, as reported, nearly fourteen millions; but the figures are only approximate, for, in some cases, the school age is regarded as ending at twenty-one years, and, in others, at fifteen years; while beginning at four, five, and six years. The number of enrolled scholars is a little over eight millions. The estimated number of children between six and sixteen years of age is ten and a half millions; the number of teachers employed, two hundred and forty-one thousand three hundred. The number of female teachers is nearly twice that of male teachers. The total annual expenditure of the public schools is very nearly seventy-five million dollars, and the estimated value of buildings and other school property, one hundred and sixty-six million dollars, so far as reported; but from twenty States, including Massachusetts and Connecticut, no returns are given.

It is commonly conceded that, taking into view the entire country, secondary instruction, or that which is intermediate between elementary and collegiate, is the weakest part of the system, and this notwithstanding very early efforts to establish grammar schools and academies, and, in later days, the foundation of excellent public high schools. One of the first benefactors of American education was Edward Hopkins, who provided, by his will, in the middle of the seventeenth century, for the maintenance of grammar schools, to fit boys for college, in Hartford, New Haven, Hadley, and Cambridge. His bequests are still vigorous in their influence. The Boston Latin School is another primeval foundation which has been strong and growing since the days of Ezekiel Cheever.

Prior to the Revolution, it would appear that good intermediate schools were few in number. "Dummer School," at Byfield, established in 1763, was exceptional; it was, as Charles Hammond well said, "the best type of an English grammar school that had existed on American soil since the days of Ezekiel Cheever." Near the close of the war a new impulse was given to classical education by the endowment of an academy at Exeter, by John Phillips, in 1781, and of its compeer at Andover, one year earlier, by the same benefactor

and his family friends,—two of the most serviceable of all American gifts. Leicester Academy was a kindred establishment, begun in 1784; New Ipswich dates from 1789. We cannot dwell upon these facts; their influence has been well set forth by Taylor, Cleveland, Washburn, Bacon, Barnard, and especially by Charles Hammond in his historical sketch of New England academies, where an admirable defence is given of the principles which have governed their maintenance. In due time the academy became a part of the legal school system of Massachusetts,—it spread through New England; it extended to New York. Feeble enterprises, joint-stock companies, inadequate funds, brought the system into ill repute; and when the revival of public schools took place, between 1830 and 1850, high schools, based on the earliest notion of grammar schools, maintained at public expense, superseded, in many places, the academies maintained by endowment and tuition fees. It was one of the watchwords in Connecticut, that “our public schools must be cheap enough for the poorest; good enough for the best.” Yet the strong-endowed schools, like those just named, and like others at Munson, Easthampton, Groton, and elsewhere, never lost their place in public esteem. A noteworthy return to the academy principle (modified by the free-school idea) was seen in the establishment of a free academy at Norwich, in 1856. The story of this undertaking, as told by its promoter, Rev. John P. Gulliver, is a very good illustration of the vibrations of opinion, in an intelligent New England town, between the endowed school, the private school, the public high school, and the academy. Private seminaries, both for day-scholars and boarders, have, to a considerable extent, supplemented the lack of good public high schools and academies. Within the last twenty years, especially in cities and large towns, the public high school, both for girls and boys, has become the favorite method of securing secondary instruction. In the Western States this is not merely the favorite, it is almost the only prevalent plan. Its influence upon classical education has not generally been favorable (though there are noteworthy exceptions to this remark), and consequently, in many of the Western colleges, preparatory departments are found to be indispensable, while



in many of the Eastern States the promoters of college education are earnest and frequent in the advocacy of better means and greater facilities for passing beyond the elementary schools into the colleges. Dr. Harris of St. Louis has published a paper, in which he discusses the failure to connect the lower with the advanced seminaries.

Passing now to the subject of superior education, we find at the commencement of the Revolution that there were nine colleges established in eight of the thirteen colonies. Three of them were instituted prior to the seventeenth century, and for nearly fifty years the trio stood alone; six were founded between 1746 and 1776. The origin of Harvard in 1638 is almost coeval with that of Massachusetts; that of Yale goes back to the early days of the New Haven Colony, though its foundation dates from 1700; William and Mary was begun in 1693. New Jersey was first to follow the example of Massachusetts, Virginia, and Connecticut, in the establishment of Nassau Hall at Princeton, and was the first of the colonies to duplicate a college, which was done by the foundation of Queens now Rutgers College in New Brunswick; New York was the second to act, by the foundation of Kings now Columbia College; then came Pennsylvania, with the University at Philadelphia, the colonial metropolis; Rhode Island was next, with its college at Providence; and New Hampshire was not far behind in the enlargement of Wheelock's Indian charity school, and the foundation of Dartmouth College. Some future poet or mythologist may personify these as the nine colonial muses.

These institutions were colleges of an English parentage and model, not Scotch nor Continental universities. They were schools of rectorial and tutorial supervision, not of free professional instruction. They were disciplinary in their aim, and had more regard for the general culture of large numbers than for the advanced and special instruction of the chosen few. They were also, to a considerable extent, ecclesiastical foundations, — finding the churches and ministers their constant and sometimes their only efficient supporters. Harvard, Yale, and Dartmouth were controlled by Congregationalists; Princeton was founded by the Presbyterians, and New Brunswick by the Dutch Reformed; William and Mary was emphatically a child

of the Church of England, and Kings or Columbia College was chiefly but not exclusively governed by the Episcopalians ; while Rhode Island College (now Brown University) was under the patronage of Baptists. These seminaries were also of religious aims. Usually the education of ministers was avowed as one of their chief objects. Sometimes, in the earlier days, the christianization of the Indians was distinctly kept in mind (though with the most meagre results) as it was in the romantic project of Berkeley for his college in the Bermudas. Religious and theological instruction was deemed an essential part of the education of every one, — but not in an exclusive or narrow sense. The colonists believed in the Scriptures, and insisted upon orthodoxy in their principal teachers ; but they favored liberal culture, — the study of languages, philosophy, physics, mathematics, — and without the slightest hesitation encouraged, as far as their slender means would allow, every branch of learning.

But there was a civil as well as an ecclesiastical element in most of these foundations. Harvard and Yale were chartered and to some extent controlled by the colonial governments of Massachusetts and Connecticut, and were for a long time nurtured by appropriations from the public chest, as Michigan, California, and other western universities are now. The declarations of the original supporters of these colleges indicate a desire to train up young men for the service of the State, not less distinctly and emphatically than the desire to provide an educated ministry. Individual aid was also expected and invited, and the names of Harvard and Yale perpetuate the remembrance of such generous gifts.

Hence, these nine colleges were nurseries of virtue, intelligence, liberality, and patriotism, as well as of learning ; so that when the Revolution began, scores of the most enlightened leaders, both in the council and upon the field, were found among their graduates. The influences of academic culture may be distinctly traced in the formation of the Constitution of the United States, and in the political writings of Adams, Hamilton, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, and many other leading statesmen of the period. A careful student of American politics has remarked that nothing more strikingly indicates the influ-

ence of the education given at Cambridge "than the masterly manner in which difficult problems of law and government were handled by those who had received their instruction only from that source.

Soon after the Revolution was over, new colleges were projected. Between the close of the war and 1800, seventeen such institutions were organized,—three in Maryland (St. John's, Washington, and Frederick); one in Massachusetts (Williams); one in New York (Union); one in Pennsylvania, at Carlisle; two in South Carolina, at Charleston and Winsborough; two in Virginia (Hampden Sidney and Lexington); and one in the District of Columbia, at Georgetown. Four of the Southern States, North and South Carolina, Georgia, and Tennessee, instituted universities, which bore in each case the name of the State. These made a total of twenty-six colleges, kindred in organization and plans, imperfectly endowed, abounding in aspirations, sustained by sacrifices, restricted in scope,—all under way in the year 1800. Instead of maintaining one strong institution in each State, and giving up the points of difference (usually ecclesiastical or theological tenets which had not the slightest bearing upon classical or mathematical or scientific culture), the friends of higher education entered upon a rivalry which, in some States, was fatal, and in some injurious, to the cause they advocated.

The colonial mode of growth has been perpetuated from those days until now. In 1875 the Commissioner of Education reported the names of 374 institutions, mostly called universities and colleges, which are legally entitled to confer academic degrees,—besides independent schools of law, medicine, and theology, of which there are 106, and colleges for women, of which there are 65; so that there are known and recorded 545 degree-giving institutions within the United States. Most of these colleges are inadequately endowed, and consequently the instruction which many of them offer is of a very secondary character. A very large part of them represent some sectarian or denominational opinion; some of them have little more than a name, a charter, and a bias. The city of Nashville is reported to have four colleges; the State of Oregon, seven; Kansas, eight; California, eleven, besides a

State university; Iowa, eighteen; Ohio, thirty-six, including the Toledo University of Arts and Trades. Thus we see that to-day, the three colleges of 1700, the nine colleges of 1776, the twenty-six colleges of 1800, have multiplied far beyond all expectation, and every year new candidates seek admission to the lists.

In reviewing these figures of 1875, it is well to dwell upon the characteristics of the earliest American colleges, because institutions, as well as individuals, exhibit hereditary tendencies; and in reviewing the history of the century it is easy to see how the colonial notions of college organization have affected advantageously and disadvantageously the higher education of the country, even down to our own time. The graduates of the older colleges have migrated to the Western States, and have transplanted with them the college germs. Illinois bears witness to the zeal of its college band; California owes much to a New England scholar, Henry Durant, who went there, as he said, "with college on the brain," and lived till he became the head of a State university; Oregon has its kindred pioneer; and every Western State can bear witness to the zeal for learning which has been manifested within its borders by enthusiastic teachers from the East. The Western College Society can show a record of generous offerings in money, and of still more generous offerings in intellect and exertion, expended during the last half-century in building up Western colleges upon the colonial model. These institutions have contributed largely to the material and social prosperity of the newer States, and have made it possible to build up the common-school system, and to provide in cities and large towns, churches, libraries, high schools, newspapers, and other means of social enlightenment.

If these numerous colleges had been called academies, or high schools, or collegiate seminaries, or gymnasias, everybody at home and abroad would have applauded their organization, and would have regarded their maintenance as one of the glories of the Republic; but because they are called by the same name as Harvard, Yale, Princeton, Columbia, and other rich and well-manned colleges, they appear to disadvantage by comparison, and it is not uncommon to hear them spoken of

in terms of collective depreciation. But it should be borne in mind that they could not have been called into being except by the magic name of colleges, which suggests to the educated and enlightened American an idea, inherited from the colonial days, for which he will contribute labor, time, thought, and money.

When we review the list of several hundred degree-giving institutions reported by General Eaton, we may indeed regret that so many of them are feeble, and that so many are exponents of denominational zeal rather than of intellectual life; we may desire to see some remedy for their distracting influences; but we can hardly fail to admit that with all their deficiencies they have cherished the love of higher education in regions remote from the older seats of learning. Without the remembrance of the traditions on which they are based, it would be difficult to comprehend the extraordinary phenomena of sectarian colleges, so creditable in one point of view, so discreditable in another.

When the sectarian or denominational colleges plead the example of the nine pre-revolutionary institutions as favorable to this plan of organization, the advocates of State universities point to the origin of Harvard and Yale Colleges, which were aided and controlled in all their early years by the colonial legislatures.

We entertain no doubt that the growth of State universities in the West has been a healthy reaction against the multiplicity of sectarian colleges. This subject has been recently discussed in these pages, and so requires but a brief reference here. Congress, in creating new States in the Western territory, set apart in each of them a portion of the public domain for the maintenance of a seminary of advanced learning, which in due time became the State University. The University of Michigan has been the most successful of these undertakings, and has survived so long that it now numbers hosts of defenders and supporters among its graduates scattered through the State. The universities of Wisconsin, Iowa, Minnesota, and California are also in vigorous condition, though more exposed to the danger of popular interference and of temporary dissatisfactions.

The desire for sectarian colleges has not yet vanished, for within a few years past, in the oldest and in the newest States, large gifts have been made for the foundation of new denominational seminaries. Yet there are strong tendencies away from this idea. Harvard College has by successive steps become freed from its denominational character, except in its theological school, and it is in affiliation with an Episcopal divinity school. It is classed as “non-sectarian” in the Report of the United States Commissioner. Yale College has opened the seats of the corporation to representatives of the alumni, and they are chosen without any regard to their denominational character. Cornell University is avowedly non-sectarian. So are the State universities of the West. So is the new foundation of Johns Hopkins in Baltimore. No scholar can doubt that this tendency is favorable to the advancement of learning.

President White of Cornell University, who has had an unusual familiarity both with sectarian and non-sectarian colleges, urges as a remedy for the present distracted state of higher education that, “in the older States public and private aid should be concentrated upon a small number of the broadest and strongest foundations already laid. In the newer States, State aid should be regularly and liberally given to State institutions for the highest literary, scientific, and industrial instruction, to fully equip them, and to keep them free from sectarian control.” Dr. McCosh, in his inaugural address at Princeton, proposed that the colleges of each State should be associated as one university, somewhat after the form of the Queen’s University in Ireland, and this proposal is favored by others; but no measures have been taken looking in this direction.

The typical American college has been a place where a prescribed course of study, largely devoted to Greek, Latin, and mathematics, with a brief introduction to historical, political, and ethical sciences, has continued during four years, and led to a bachelor’s degree. Daily recitations, residence within college walls, and religious worship Sundays and week-days, have also been maintained. One of the first innovations was made when the University of Virginia allowed its scholars to

elect their own courses, gave prominence to examinations, and laid no stress upon the system of four-year classes. Nearly half a century later Cornell University sprung at once into great prominence, by the freedom with which it threw off traditional fetters, allowing great freedom of choice of study, introducing abundant means of illustration and practical laboratories, engaging non-resident professors of distinction to supplement the ordinary teachers, and favoring technical instruction in the useful arts as well as general instruction in the liberal arts. Yale College has maintained the old curriculum, but side by side has successfully promoted, for a quarter of a century, new courses of study in the modern sciences. Brown, Rutgers, Dartmouth, Princeton, and others of the older colleges maintain schools of science akin to the Sheffield School at Yale. But by far the boldest innovations which have been made in any American college, are those inaugurated at Harvard under the administration of President Eliot. The interior working of the institution has been remodelled, and great freedom of choice (extending to the modern departments of science, as well as to the various branches of literature, history, and philosophy) is now permitted to every student, with results which appear to have dissipated nearly all doubts as to the wisdom of the plan, and to have attracted increasing numbers of students.

These modifications of the American college are likely to be attended with the best results, for they accord with the best experience of other countries. Moreover, there was great danger, a few years ago, that the colleges were losing their hold upon the community. The laborious and thorough researches of President F. A. P. Barnard of New York, a few years ago, showed that the proportionate number of students attending college has been gradually lessening, instead of increasing as it should with the increasing wealth of the country. It would be an excellent service for the Department of Education to continue the inquiries which have been so well begun. The modern congressional and legislative assemblies include but a very small number of college-bred men. The prizes of life — honor, fame, wealth, and opportunities of public usefulness — have largely been distributed among those who are not

alumni of any but the common school. Even in science and literature many of the most successful workers have been taught in no college. Those educated men who have been trained in college have often exhibited a reluctance to engage in the rough conflicts of life; modern politics have disgusted them,—the caucus has been abhorrent to them. In all this, there was grave reason for apprehension; but still the belief in the value of a liberal education is deep-seated among intelligent Americans; generous men like Lawrence, Sheffield, Buckingham, Packer, Green, Cornell, Hopkins,—including several who were never enrolled as college students,—have largely increased the funds for higher education, and with increasing means the colleges are providing, at the present day, better instruction than ever before; the number of graduates is increasing; and unless we are mistaken, they were never so well fitted as in these days to take an active part in the improvement of mankind, in the promotion of science, and the conduct of political and civil institutions.

It thus appears, as we review the situation of American colleges at the close of the first century of the Republic, that there are a few institutions in the United States, governed by private corporations, and endowed with capital varying from half a million to five millions of dollars; a few vigorous State universities in the West, governed by popular or legislative control, and supported partly from the income of public lands, partly by public bounty; and about three hundred small and ill-endowed colleges, some of which are doing excellent work, while many of them seem to have no reason for their existence. In the better colleges, the tendency is usually away from sectarian influences; in the poorer colleges, sectarian fervor alone feeds the flame. Within the walls there is a manifest tendency toward freedom from restricted courses of study, or at least toward the provision of manifold optional courses, so that the different requirements of modern society may efficiently be met. The tendency of educated men is away from public life; it is difficult to fill the most important chairs in our universities, not from the lack of candidates, but from the absence of the highest qualifications; and yet, in private life, the country has never had so large a proportion of men of culture and learning.



The earliest professional education in this country was given by clergymen, lawyers, and physicians, each in his own way and his own study, without any reference to an academic examination or degree. To be "licensed" as a preacher, or to be admitted to the bar, or to be recognized as a lawful practitioner in medicine, required some approval from the professions, but not graduation in any professional school. The imperfection of such means of education gradually led to the establishment of schools and seminaries, which were not university faculties, in the proper sense, but technical training-places for lawyers, ministers, and physicians. One of the earliest and best of law schools was begun in Litchfield, Connecticut, by Judges Reeve and Gould in 1784, and maintained for many years,—drawing to its instructions young men from the most distant parts of the land. In 1794, Chancellor Kent delivered his introductory lecture on law in Columbia College, New York. It was not till 1816 that Harvard appointed a professor of law. The Law School at New Haven was organized in 1824, and remained a private institution until 1846, though a professorship of law had been maintained in Yale College after 1801. The University of Virginia began a law department in 1825. There are now thirty-eight schools of law.

It was during the Revolution that the first steps were taken at Cambridge for the introduction of the study of medicine, and a plan for the establishment of three chairs relating to medicine was presented to the Corporation by Dr. Warren in 1782. The Medical School at New Haven was begun in 1813; the College of Physicians and Surgeons in New York dates from 1807. There are now seventy-four schools of medicine, besides eleven dental and fourteen pharmaceutical colleges.

The Catholics maintained a theological school at Baltimore as early as 1791, and another at Emmitsburg in 1808; the theological school at Andover was founded in 1807, at Princeton in 1812, at Cambridge in 1817, at Bangor in 1818, at New Haven in 1822,—though in the colleges last named, theological instruction had for a long time previous been given to graduates. Now there are one hundred and thirteen theological schools reported by the United States Commissioner of Education.

From these figures it is apparent that one of the earliest intellectual movements of the Republic was the organization of professional schools, and that during the last few years these institutions have multiplied with a rapidity unparalleled except by the prolific colleges. Most of these seminaries (the theological furnishing the chief exceptions) are very poorly endowed, and hence depend upon fees, distributed among the professors.

One of the most important modifications in the higher education has been the growth, within the last twenty-five years, of special schools of science. For a long period the United States Military Academy at West Point, founded in 1802, was not only a school of military engineering, but was the chief place in the country for the training of topographical, hydrographical, and civil engineers. In 1826 the Rensselaer Polytechnic School at Troy was incorporated, and under the guidance of Amos Eaton quickly exerted a strong influence in favor of what has been called in later days the New Education. About twenty years later the foundation of the Lawrence Scientific School at Cambridge, and the accession of Agassiz to its staff of teachers, gave the next impulse to scientific education, and soon the Yale, now the Sheffield Scientific School, began its prosperous career. Numerous private gifts have enabled other colleges to institute their scientific departments, and now most of the older institutions, of which Columbia, Princeton, Dartmouth, Rutgers, Easton, and the University of Pennsylvania are conspicuous examples, announce their special courses in chemistry, engineering, and other departments of science. The Stevens Institute at Hoboken, distinct from every other foundation, has made a specialty of mechanics and physics.

In 1862 Congress appropriated a very large portion of the national domain for the encouragement of scientific instruction. The Act is known as the "Agricultural College Act," but its provisions include the sciences relating to agriculture and the mechanic arts, not excluding literary and classical studies. Its intent was to give an impulse all over the land to those studies which have the most obvious relation to the development of the national resources, and which will fit young men for modern scientific professions. Its effect has

been remarkable. Notwithstanding occasional infelicities in the plans of operation adopted by some of the States, the general influence of this endowment has been excellent. In the older Eastern States the national grant was sometimes given to the support and development of institutions already begun, as at Providence, New Haven, Burlington, Hanover, and New Brunswick. In Massachusetts alone it was divided, a part going to the Institute of Technology in Boston, and a part to the Agricultural College at Amherst. In New York this gift gave strength and vitality to the munificence of Ezra Cornell, and enabled the university which bears his name to spring at once into a position of conspicuous influence. In most of the Western States the national bounty was directed to the State universities, though there were exceptions, as in Michigan, where it went to the Agricultural College, and in Iowa. The Southern States, in consequence of the war, were slow to receive the benefits of the Act; but throughout the entire North, institutions aided by this grant are now in full progress, and usually with results which are better than even the friends of the enactment anticipated.

Hostility toward scientific pursuits or toward scientific instruction has never in this country been manifested to any noteworthy extent by the religious part of the community or by theological teachers. In discussions relating to the sphere of science and religion, the teachers of religion have almost always been earnest in their approval of scientific research; so, again, there has been very little controversy between the advocates of scientific and classical culture, each party having been disposed to concede the importance of maintaining institutions in which literature and science may alike be efficiently promoted. There can be no doubt that the influence of Harvard, Yale, and the other older colleges has in this particular been powerful throughout the land.

One of the most praiseworthy and one of the most peculiar features of the educational progress of the country is the amount of benefactions bestowed upon institutions of learning by men of wealth. The task of summing up these gifts has never, so far as we are aware, been adequately performed. Within the last few years the United States Commissioner of

Education has presented the figures which he has been able annually to collect. He reports that in 1871 eight millions and a half of dollars were given by individuals for educational establishments, — but this sum includes the bequest of Horace Hawes (estimated at two million dollars), from which nothing was realized. In 1872 he reports similar benefactions amounting to nearly ten millions; in 1873, to over eleven millions; and in 1874, to over six millions; that is to say, thirty-three millions in the four years prior to 1875. There is hardly any sign of the times more encouraging than the readiness displayed by those who have been prosperous to bestow, many of them in their active lifetime, large gifts upon institutions of learning and education. The care with which such trusts have been administered by the oldest institutions, and their freedom from public interference, during their entire history, are also worthy of remark.

The liberal provisions which have been made for the education of teachers should be considered if our space would permit; and the special higher institutions for young women, like Vassar College, Wellesley College, the Smith College, and multitudes of earlier enterprises, would merit ample discussion.

Special attention should also be directed to the instruction of the unfortunate, the deaf and dumb, the blind, the orphan, the neglected, and the idiotic. The story of deaf-mute instruction, from its commencement in this country at Hartford in 1817 to the foundation of the Clark School at Northampton, is an excellent illustration of the spirit with which an important class of educational institutions has been encouraged and maintained. The influence of one man, Rev. Thomas H. Gallaudet, has been strongly impressed upon all subsequent laborers in his chosen field. The organization of the Hartford institution was placed in his hands, and he was sent to Europe for the purpose of acquiring the art of teaching deaf-mutes. He labored with great earnestness and success to secure State and national support for the cause of deaf-mute instruction, besides giving attention to the training of his pupils, and also to the preparation of teachers who might engage in the work elsewhere than at Hartford. Upwards of forty-five institutions

for the education of deaf-mutes now exist in the United States, with more than five thousand pupils annually in attendance.

In the institution at Washington, sustained by the Federal government, a department for advanced study was organized in 1864 under the name of the National Deaf-Mute College, in which a full academic course of instruction is given. One hundred and thirty-seven youth, representing twenty-eight States and Territories, have come under instruction in this College. Twenty-seven of these have received the degree of Bachelor of Arts, two that of Bachelor of Science, and three that of Master of Arts. In no country, other than our own, has a college for deaf-mutes been established.

The instruction of the blind has also its romantic and instructive record, since the Perkins Institute was founded at Boston in 1829. The education of one of the earliest scholars there, Laura Bridgman, under the skilful hand of Dr. S. G. Howe, has probably attracted more attention than the education of any living person. The success which attended her intellectual development has encouraged multitudes of teachers and has favored the foundation of twenty-seven institutions of the blind now maintained in different parts of the Union.

Public libraries deserve to be mentioned among the agencies for the promotion of education, and the growth of such institutions has of late years been rapid, though not so rapid as in European countries. It is estimated by the United States Commissioner of Education, that, in 1800, the colleges, collectively, owned but fifty thousand volumes; and now Harvard alone has two hundred and eleven thousand volumes. He also reports the number of volumes in public libraries of all classes in Boston, and at Harvard, to be eight hundred and eighty thousand. In 1817 it was estimated by a writer in this Review that there were sixty thousand volumes in the same limits. The National Library at Washington was founded at the beginning of this century, and now contains about two hundred and eighty thousand volumes. Every State and Territory has now at least one library practically free to all comers. New York, in 1835, passed a law providing for the support of district school libraries by taxation, and a similar provision has been made in ten other States. By this agency many excellent

books have been brought before young persons who would otherwise have been without them. Towns are now authorized by law in Massachusetts, Connecticut, Illinois, and Wisconsin to lay taxes for the formation of libraries.

In conclusion, the student of American education, during the first century of the Republic, may well be gratified by the wide-spread diffusion of intelligence through the vast territory of the United States, and at the readiness with which the people of the North and West have taxed themselves for the support of common schools. He may rejoice in the testimony of observing foreigners, that the people of this land, if not the most highly educated, are the most generally educated in the world. He may discover in English popular educational movements on the one hand, and in Japanese on the other, that American methods and results have been carefully considered, commended, and copied in distant lands. He may trace the influence of the common-school system upon plans for the advancement of the States of South America. He may observe that the arrangements for popular education are improving, year by year, by reason of better training-schools for teachers, better supervision, more liberal pecuniary support. He may review with gratitude the efforts of Horace Mann in Massachusetts, and of hosts of men still living in every State of the Union, who, by public addresses, educational conventions, newspaper articles, teachers' institutes, and legislative discussions, have awakened the popular zeal for education when it was dormant, and have controlled it when it was awakened. He may see with satisfaction the growth of a few strong colleges, the commencement of numerous public libraries, the foundation of schools and galleries of the fine arts, and of museums of natural history. He may enumerate munificent benefactions for education which have never been surpassed in the history of civilization. From all this he may take courage.

But he can hardly fail to be dissatisfied by a comparison of our systems of higher instruction with those of Europe; he must acknowledge that, in intermediate instruction, we are far behind what we know to be requisite; and that in primary schools we lose, from one cause and another, much time and

force, — the results not being equal to the outlays involved. He can hardly fail to look with grave apprehension at the political influence upon the nation proceeding from the illiteracy of so many voters as the last census has revealed; and he can hardly fail to discover difficulties ahead from the religious question, unless it is early settled upon the principle of justice to all.

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